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ABSTRACT

A growing number of graduate students are career changers who are seeking second careers as teachers. This paper focuses on 20 novice teachers, graduates of a program specifically designed to recruit and meet the needs of those who enter teaching from other careers. Two questionnaires, biographical in nature, were distributed to participants upon entry into the program and upon completion of the course of study. Data were derived from written responses as well as interviews. Some implications for teacher education programs emerging from this study are that second career students: (1) understand professional roles quickly; (2) bring valuable knowledge and skills from previous careers; (3) care a great deal about children; (4) are aware of social issues as these relate to education; and (5) have utilized research and reflection in order to arrive at second career decisions. Findings suggest that self-portraits and perceptions of teaching change as the realities of classroom life are encountered. The data indicate that personal biography, cognitive and psycho-social development, and a program of teacher education differentiated to meet the needs and concerns of second career teachers have facilitated the process of personal and professional growth. (LL)

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Second Career Teachers: Themes and Variations

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SECOND CAREER TEACHERS: THEME AND VARIATIONS

Today, we are seeing a new population of graduate students seeking careers in teaching. Both men and women who, upon college graduation, chose to pursue careers in fields as diverse as business, law, graphic design, and carpentry are choosing to leave those careers and seek new careers as teachers. They bring with them a range of experience that makes their interests and concerns qualitatively different from those of undergraduate students and graduate students with little or no previous career experience. It is our assumption that if we, as teacher educators, are to help this pool of teachers to maximize their potential, enabling them to make this career choice both personally and professionally satisfying, we must identify these interests and concerns and provide programs of teacher education that are consonant with them.

This paper will provide an overview of twenty novice second career teachers. It describes the idioms recurring in their self-portraits and their perceptions of teachers and teaching at the time of career change and identifies the changes in these portraits and perceptions throughout the course of a graduate pre-service program. Following these descriptions, an analysis of the data is made; the changed perceptions of second career teachers are linked to themes that have emerged from the literature. Finally, implications for teacher education programs are drawn.

Theoretical Framework

Teacher Biography

This research draws upon diverse theoretical sources. To understand the relationship between self-portraits and professional growth and development , we have drawn upon the literature of teacher biography

(Bullough,1989,90; Schubert,90; Britzman,1986). We know from the findings of cognitive psychology that individuals make sense of things according to their personal schema, the way they see and make sense of the world. In the world of early childhood education, this means that effective curriculum must take into account the nature and needs of the learner. Recent research indicates that this is equally true of the adult learner (Brookfield,1986). This assumption is well supported by research on teaching and teachers. Bullough (1990), Zeichner and Tabachnik (1981), and Bruner(1987) demonstrate the relevance of personal experience to professional efficacy. Fuller (1969) has demonstrated that teacher education programs are most successful when they are sensitive to student concerns. To make programs for second career teachers effective, we must know how they see themselves, the careers they are leaving, and the careers they are choosing.

Piaget and Freud show us that the more we know about developmental stages the more likely we are to understand and address the strengths and needs of the individual. On this basis, we may infer that the more we know about the common qualities that characterize the self-portraits and perceptions of second career teachers, the more likely we are to understand the strengths and needs of the individual and design programs of teacher education that address the strengths and needs of both the group and the individuals.

Career Change

The growing number of second career teachers is a new reality; therefore, the body of relevant literature is small. To gain a better understanding of the significance of the career change process in the self-portraits of second career teachers, we have supplemented available

literature (Freidus, 1989,90; Crow, et al.,1988) with the research on career change in the business world (Hall, 1986; Van Maanen, 1977; Louis, 1980). Contemporary research views the career as embedded in the life of the individual. Career structure, life stage developments and biography mediate and are mediated by each other. To understand the significance of a career or a career change in a person's life, both the individual and the career environment must be studied. To understand second career teachers, we must know the individual, their perceptions of the career worlds they are leaving and their perceptions of the career worlds they are choosing.

The Meaning of "Career"

No longer is there only one socially accepted vision of a career path. The traditional concept of the *linear career*, a hierarchical progression through a single profession, has been supplemented by the concepts of *steady state career*, wherein an individual acquires additional skills within a single field without upward movement, and the spiral career, wherein an individual moves through positions in related or diverse fields (Driver, 1980; Louis, 1980). Changes, in both the structure of business and the professions and the career perceptions of individuals have contributed to these changes.

Corporate mores and values, the character of the organization, and the nature of career development within the organization have all changed in the past two decades (Hall,1986). At one time the concept of public service was, at least nominally, a part of corporate ethics. Representative of this was General Electric's advertising logo during the 1950's: "At General Electric, progress is our most important product." This message sought to convey the information that public service and profit motives were equally important to the corporate world. Corporate commitment to a socially important goal

evoked feelings of a common purpose among its employees. Today, the profit motive has replaced the service motive. The image of the corporate family has faded as the search for the "best man" gained precedence over the "company man." A trend toward corporate cut-backs and restructuring has minimized feelings of corporate caring and security for employees as it eliminated a sense of concern for the well-being of society-at-large.

While these dynamics were changing within the business world, changing social structures and lifestyles were also influencing career attitudes. The "Baby Boom Cohort," influenced by the values of the sixties, focused not only on status and career achievements but also on autonomy, self- fulfillment, and a greater balance between work life and family life (Hall, 1986). No longer was commitment to business or a profession seen as a commitment for life.

Both in and out of the workplace, education began to be seen as a life-long process. Changing career demands created an ongoing need for new knowledge and skills. Advanced technology required frequent retraining, while corporate mergers created numerous job transitions. As more and more older men and women took their place among younger students, the sight of the mature student became commonplace. A new emphasis on inter-disciplinary learning in the corporate and educational worlds has brought about an understanding that knowledge and skills learned in one area contribute to mastery of those in another area.

Career and the Women's Movement

Many women, socialized and educated in the seventies and eighties to view work as the primary means of defining their identity, headed along the traditional hierarchical career path only to find themselves caught between the norms of career commitment and the latent and not-so-latent gender-linked realities of contemporary society. Some, feeling at this point that they have fulfilled career needs but not personal ones, pause in their linear career path to explore options. They seek a way to fulfill their need for career achievement without forsaking the traditional gender needs of nurturing. Those who are on the "Mommy Track" seek better ways to blend their commitment to career with their commitment to family (Schwartz,1989). In these cases, the search for new career opportunities is a search for flexibility and compatibility with family needs but not for ease (Biklen,1986). These women continue to see themselves as professionals; they are looking for careers not for jobs.

For many of these women, teaching appears to be the career of choice. It is important for us as teacher educators to note, however, that although the career choice may be their second, they do not view it as a "second-choice" choice. Their goals are as complex as their needs (Betz and Fitzgerald,1987).

Adult Development

Adulthood was traditionally viewed simply from the vantage point of biology. For Freud, the stages of ego development were completed at puberty. It was Jung who first deviated from this interpretation of adulthood. He saw the emergence of the ego best represented by the images of a journey, the path

to the fulfillment of individual needs and social obligations (Jung in Campbell (ed.), 1971). The possibility for growth and change was ever-present.

Erikson (1963) draws upon the work of both Freud and Jung. To their vision, he adds the view that social and historical factors contribute to the nature of individual development. He posits the existence of eight sequential and hierarchical developmental stages. Inherent in each stage is the need to continue onto the next stage; growth is a lifelong process. Although these stages are not strictly age-linked, three are relevant to the career paths we are studying. In adolescence[1], the stage of *Identity vs. Role Confusion* , individuals struggle with the roles they choose for themselves, often torn between personal values and family traditions. As they begin to resolve these issues, they move into the stage of *Intimacy vs. Isolation*. During the years of young adulthood, men and women are eager and willing to fuse their identity with that of others and to commit themselves to meaningful affiliations. In *Generativity vs. Stagnation* , the stage of Middle Adulthood, individuals are concerned with procreativity, the desire to establish and guide the next generation - one's own children or those of the community.

Second career teachers look on their decisions to change careers as indications of personal and professional growth. Looking at their perceptions and self-portraits through the templates of adult development may provide additional insight into their actions and enable teacher educators to address their needs and concerns in a more appropriate fashion.

[1]It is important to note that in Eriksonian terms adolescence may continue past the college years.

Methodology

The findings of this paper are part of an ongoing study of second career teachers that began as a doctoral dissertation and has led to the implementation of a program specifically designed to recruit and meet the needs of those who enter teaching from other careers. The program is part of the graduate teacher education program at a small liberal arts college in suburban New York City. This paper focuses on data derived from written responses to two questionnaires submitted to twenty novice teachers. These teachers comprised two cohorts of novice teachers recently graduated from the program described above. One questionnaire was distributed upon entry to the program and one distributed following completion of the course of study. Journals, class discussions, and conferences provided additional data sources and means of data triangulation. In addition, the research was supplemented by a pool of data derived from open-ended interviews (Mischler,1988,90) with more than 75 career changers participating in teacher education programs at various colleges and universities along the East Coast between the period from Fall, 1988 - Fall, 1990.

The Program for Second Career Teachers

Program Description

The population of this study were enrolled in a program of teacher education designed in response to data emerging from a doctoral study that explored the attitudes and expectations of career teachers (Freidus,1989). The program leads to an MAT Degree in elementary or secondary education and to New York State Certification. The Program for Second Career Teachers is

selective, a demonstrated record of academic and/or career achievement is a prerequisite. It is intensive, addressing the reality that most second career teachers need to gain employment as quickly as possible. It is rigorous, addressing the perception that those second career career teachers who choose to enter teaching through a graduate degree program are committed to a course of professional preparation.

The Program for Second Career Teachers integrates field work with course work in educational theory, pedagogical methods, and child development. It adheres to a Deweyan perspective; emphasis is placed on the interrelationships of self, school, and society. As students develop a knowledge base for teaching, they are encouraged to question and reflect upon the implications of each component of that knowledge base.

Respect, collaboration, and collegiality are keystones of the Program for Second Career Teachers. Faculty members seek to model the qualities and skills they consider essential to good teaching. Seminars are designed to provide opportunities for second career teachers to experience, practice, and critique the models of teaching they will use with their own students. These models include but are not limited to cooperative learning projects, dialogue journals, the writing of reflection papers, and small group discussions that serve as forums for the exchange of ideas and concerns.

The Program for Second Career Teachers has developed strong partnerships with local school districts. Districts provide a stipend to each intern participating in the program. In return, each second career teacher makes a commitment of a full academic year to the district. During the first semester, each second career teacher works with a designated mentor as a student teacher in his or her classroom. During the second semester, interns work as supervised substitute teachers within the district; mentors continue

in the capacity of professional resources for the course of the internship. Throughout the year, carefully selected and trained mentor teachers, college supervisors, and second career teachers form a supportive working triad.

Self-Portraits of Second Career Teachers

Despite the diversity that marks the biographies and career patterns of second career teachers, there appear to be common themes characterizing the self-portraits of those who decide to enter teaching after working in other fields. These themes can be defined as follows:

1)Second career teachers see themselves as teachers by choice.

The men and women we studied have tried and been successful in careers in other fields. They have made conscious decisions that teaching is the career they want.

> It is not surprising that teaching is a career which I have often considered, but ...until now the timing has not been right....Fifteen years ago I did not have the maturity to be an effective teacher; I had too much self-learning to tackle. Today I am ready to learn how to teach. (Sandra,1989)

2)Second career teachers see themselves as wanting to serve society.

Second career teachers come with a sense of mission, a need to seek personal fulfillment by giving to others. They believe that they have something to give and something to gain from a career in teaching. They are choosing to trade in actual or potential success measured by financial gain and status for the rewards of personal satisfaction through service.

> I have been examining my personal goals. While I was and am very proud of my achievements, as time went on, I felt that something essential was missing, and, after much deliberation and soul-searching, I decided that my ultimate place was not in the corporate world. .... I believe that, with guidance, I have the potential to become

> an effective teacher. As I strive for that goal, I can make an important contribution. ...I know that there will be failures and frustrations, but I hope to complete the circle and return the favor that those great teachers of my past did for me. (Sandra, 1989)

3) Second career teachers see themselves as agents of social change

Almost all second career teachers speak of a desire to make the world a better place. They enter teaching with a vision and a desire to work toward making that vision a reality. For some, like the woman cited above, the motivation is to "pay back," to continue the efforts of those who have helped them. Others do not look back on the "great teachers" of their past, but on teachers that limited rather than enabled the students they taught. Theirs is a desire to effect social transformation. They believe that they can be a different type of teacher, a teacher who, like those described by Weiler (1988) can change the trajectory of social history.

> As an attorney on Park Avenue, it was very obvious to me that minorities and women were poorly represented in my career world. I am planning a career in teaching so that I may affect a change. . ..While all students will not wish to practice law, all students should have the educational background and skills that will enable them to make career decisions for themselves. (Anna,1989)

4) Second career teachers see themselves as representing their family values.

Second career teachers come from families where education was and is valued. Many have family members who are or were teachers. They take pride in choosing a career where it will be possible to implement long-espoused values.

> I am fortunate to have come from a family that placed a high value on learning and knowledge....School was a place I always loved, a place where I felt comfortable (Sandra,1989)

5) Second career teachers see themselves as enjoying the role of the teacher. Almost all second career teachers have had some work-related experience that they found personally and professionally rewarding.

> I was chosen to be part of the planning committee for the recent automation of our office. During the course of this project I researched the subject extensively, determined the most relevant elements for my audience and incorporated them into the presentation. Through the response and enthusiasm of my audience, I realized that not only was the project well done, but that I enjoyed the role of educator. (Risa,1989)

Experiences like this it became catalysts for reflection on a career course and, ultimately, for career change.

6) Second career teachers see themselves as understanding young people and enjoying their company.

Second career teachers emphasize their genuine caring for children as a motivating factor in their decision to change careers.

> I strongly believe that a teacher must like and enjoy kids. My experiences as a camp counsellor number among my most enjoyable moments, moments when I felt best about myself. (Ellen,1989)

> I feel I am well suited for teaching because I have the ability to get along well with students. I enjoy teaching and look forward to becoming a role model for students .(Stan,1989)

7. Second career teachers view themselves as professionals.

They view teaching as a career not as a job. They are aware that they bring career skills with them that will be relevant in the classroom.

> The experiences and responsibilities I have had as an actuary have taught me many things which will be applicable in the classroom. I have learned to be self-disciplined, to be adaptable to change, to solve problems and reason out answers, and to motivate people to perform better. My experiences and responsibilities have also taught me to remain calm in the face of adversity, to keep things in perspective, to deal with various audiences, to speak in front of groups, to keep abreast of new developments in my field, and to be a professional. These traits, and experiences will help me become an effective teacher. (Roger,1989)

Perceptions of Teaching at the Time of Career Change

Those who enter teaching as a second career share many perceptions of teachers and teaching. They see teaching as "truly purposeful work," a means of imparting social values, of imbuing children with the moral and intellectual foundations related to responsible citizenship. Those who come with concern about the state of the world, and most second career teachers fall into this category, see teachers as agents of social change. They believe that they, as individuals, will be able to make a difference in the lives of children and, ultimately, the state of the world.

Second career teachers share a vision of what enables teachers to succeed. They speak of teachers as communicators, teachers as translators of ideas, teachers as motivators. When asked what experiences and responsibilities they had in the business world that would help them to become effective teachers, reference is repeatedly made to these areas. Some see their experience as a salespersons as relevant; others refer to their experience making formal presentations in the corporate world; still others cite their familiarity with the need to understand and relate to clients. Many refer to a combination of all of these experiences. They believe that effective teachers must first engage their students and, then, share new information

with them. Second career teachers see teaching as a variation on the communication skills they developed in their previous careers.

In addition to communication skills, second career teachers believe that good teaching requires good management. They bring with them experience in managing people, managing offices, and managing time. They believe that these experiences will help them to become good classroom managers.

Second career teachers see needs assessment and goal-setting as directly related to effective teaching. They see the teacher as classroom leader, responsible for carrying out these responsibilities. They believe that their experiences in the corporate world will facilitate their ability to carry out these functions in the classroom.

Few second career teachers enter teaching looking for an easier workload. Some, both men and women, are attracted by the vision of a career that will allow them more "quality" time with their families, but this, supporting the evidence of Biklen (1986), does not compromise the sense of commitment they feel. They see teaching as "challenging," good teachers as "hard workers." They know they have much to learn. They believe that their previous experiences will facilitate this learning, but they do not believe that previous experiences, education, and training will eliminate the need to begin a new course of study.

Perceptions of Teaching at the Conclusion of the Pre-Service Program

At the conclusion of the pre-service program, second career teachers had expanded and reinterpreted their original perceptions of teachers and teaching. Their early perceptions and self-portraits were redefined within the actual context of teaching. This kindled an awareness of the layers of relationships existing between teachers and students, teachers and school, and school and

community.

Teaching as Mission

Second career teachers maintained their sense of mission as well as their desire to make the world a better place. What they slowly came to realize was that they could not succeed in these endeavors alone. To their surprise, they discovered that teaching, like most of their former professions, was socially and politically contexted. Understanding this reality gave them a more realistic vantage point from which to interpret the past:

> I used to think quality teachers were scarce and that teachers could be blamed for the terrible state of education in this country. What I have learned, partly through maturity and partly through my own experience as a teacher, is that teachers may not have become worse over the last several decades. Changes in our nation's educational system have evolved from a tremendous upheaval in the entire structure of our society. (Lucy,1990)

Understanding and identifying the social and political context of education at such early stages in their career development allowed them a more mature and realistic perspective from which to proceed:

> I felt that I was going to make an immediate and profound impact on the teaching world. I now understand ...that to make an impact, it is going to take much more than me to make a change. More committed teachers, like myself, are what it will take to make the impact that I felt I would be able to make. Nothing in the educational world comes quickly. I hope now that I may have an impact over a longer period of time. (Bob, 1990)

Communication

Second career teachers continued to perceive teachers as communicators, motivators, and translators of ideas. What changed was their ability to define these perceptions in terms of actual teaching practice. In the

beginning, they spoke of teachers as facilitators, but they actually acted as disseminators of information. They focused on the practical; they struggled to become good communicators, "speaking slowly and precisely - not too much at once" (Carol,1990). Gradually, they discovered that, within the classroom, more complex, more dynamic levels of communication, could be attained. They realized that effective classroom communication occurred when children were active participants in the learning process. Slowly, they learned that teachers needed not just to listen but to help children to think independently and to articulate their own ideas. "Facilitator" took on a new, more complex meaning. This new meaning provided an awareness that they could learn from their students as their students learned from them.

> This was the hardest thing for me. I had to learn not to give so much. Now I know that children learn better when they do things themselves. I am amazed each time I see how much they know and how much they have to give. (Katy,1990)

By the end of the pre-service program, second career teachers saw communication, motivation, and even the translation of ideas as bi-directional. Effective teachers needed not only to communicate ideas, information, and feelings but to facilitate the communication of ideas, information, and feelings by students.

Caring

When second career teachers entered the program, they believed their love of children would make them good teachers. They learned that love was not enough. Understanding the children and being able to identify, interpret, and respond to their needs was far more important. Enjoying the role of the

teacher and enjoying the company of children evolved into a quest to unravel the mysteries of children and their development.

> The most important thing I've learned is that every child is different and has different needs. ..I learned to be sensitive to these needs. (Lucy,1990)

Second career teachers learned they could not depend on their own experiences as students to provide them with an understanding of children's thoughts and children's needs. Although reflection on these experiences provided insights and information, they were not enough to prepare them to function effectively as teachers.

> Before this year, I thought I knew a lot about adolescents because I was once a teenager. This is definitely not the case. I learned (this year) a great deal about their learning styles and how their minds work. I learned about maturity levels and developmental concerns. I learned that family and social backgrounds affect their growth process and the way they think and act. (Stan,1990)

By the close of the program second career teachers realized that the principles of child development must guide effective teaching.

Teacher as Manager

Having worked in other careers, second career teachers were familiar with the importance of management and organization at the time they chose to become teachers. Whether they had worked in retail sales or on Wall Street, they had learned skills and routines necessary for success in their chosen professions. They knew that, like their other workplaces, classrooms needed management. They believed that they would be able to apply their previously acquired skills and routines directly to the classroom.

Second career teachers believed, at first, that all that was necessary for learning was an organized, warm and caring environment. They would tell the students what to do; the students would comply. They assumed that children instinctively knew how to be good students. They believed that if teachers and students were friends, mutual respect would bring about a smoothly functioning classroom. They soon learned that loving, caring, and being friends were not enough.

> I have learned the importance of classroom management. If rules are not established and made clear, learning cannot occur. I did not believe that was important, but now I see how crucial it is to learning. (Claire,1990)

> Without effective classroom management, there is no way to teach kids. It is most important to be respected first and liked later. (Liza,1990)

They learned that active classroom management did not necessitate their becoming autocrats. They did not need to abandon their early ideals. On the contrary, they found that implementing carefully articulated routines, setting explicit expectations, and, when need be, effecting consequences for inappropriate behaviors, freed children to function successfully and independently in the classroom.

> At first, I did not want to reprimand any child because I was afraid of hurting his or her feelings. Now I know that children respect teachers who help them to be independent by giving them limits. (Lucy,1990)

Second career teachers learned that, management and organization take on a new depth of meaning in the classroom setting. Classroom management and organization encompass curriculum, child development, and communication as well as basic routines and physical lay-out. and the creation of a total

learning environment. Management and organization are woven into the fabric of each new day of teaching.

Teaching as a Challenge

Second career teachers chose a career in teaching motivated by the challenge it presented. They soon realized they had underestimated how great this challenge was.

> I found teaching four classes in a a row to be an extremely challenging and exhausting experience....This job has been by far the most difficult but the most enjoyable one I have ever had. I am happy when I can get up in front of a class without my voice trembling and knees knocking. (Stan,1990)

Second career teachers perceived themselves as professionals. They assumed becoming a good teacher entailed time, effort, and energy, but they dramatically underestimated the actual amounts needed for success. "I didn't know how much hard work it is to do it right!" (Lucy,1990). They quickly abandoned their initial conceptions that pre-designed plans and teachers guides would enable them to engage their students and meet their needs.

> I thought that there were formulas for dealing with kids, when in reality, all kids are different; what works for one, may not work for another. (Liz,1990)

> No model of teaching will work for every teacher in every situation. Once a teacher relies on a plan instead of her or himself, that teacher is doomed. (Julia, 1990)

Second career teachers came to teaching committed to giving to others. They had thought of teaching as an extension of an old familiar world, the world of their families and their school days. They found that they needed to

move beyond their personal experiences, beyond their comfort level. They learned that effective teaching involved taking risks.

> I learned not to be intimidated by faculty, students or bad days. I found that you cannot be afraid to try a new approach. (Stan,1990)

Second career teachers found that they, themselves, needed to grow in order to facilitate growth in their students. They came to realize that teaching was a complex, unpredictable, and everchanging process that required teachers to be even more flexible than they had anticipated.

> Flexibility is the key to effective teaching because it encompasses every aspect of the classroom experience. You must be flexible in your thinking, your management, your use of curriculum, your attitude, your creativity, and your relationships with your colleagues. (Lucy,1990)

Analysis

The Significance of the Career Change

Consistent throughout the data is evidence that second career teachers view their decision to become teachers as a positive career choice. Whether they had once wanted to become teachers and been deterred from the path by social pressures, job shortages, or career counsellors, whether they had never before considered the possibility of a career in teaching, or whether, in the initial stages of career selection, they had seen teaching as too closely connected to family ties and expectations, all the second career teachers we studied were enthusiastic and confident that teaching was the right career for them. These feelings are illuminated through the literature on adult development. Having had the opportunity to experiment with career roles, second career teachers have resolved many of the issues of Identity vs. Role

Confusion. They have been able to experience success in diverse fields. They have reflected on this success and identified those aspects of their initial careers that were meaningful to them. Now, they are ready to start anew. They neither feel obligated to follow the dictates of family and friends, nor do they feel they must deny these dictates in order to be their own person.

Those who, like Lucy, age 26, (pp.13,15,16,20) come from families of teachers, now have proven their ability to be independent They have proven to family, friends, co-workers, and themselves that they can succeed in an unfamiliar world, a world of status and financial reward. Their experiences have enabled them to resolve many of the issues that Erikson attributes to the stage of *Identity vs. Identity Diffusion*. They have reflected on their early career experiences and discerned what seems right for them. According to Erikson, they are now moving into the stage of *Intimacy vs. Isolation*, a stage in which the primary focus is the development of meaningful affiliations. They see teaching as a career in which such affiliations are fundamental.

Many of the younger women, like Lucy, chose to enter teaching shortly after marriage. It is possible to interpret this career choice as a reversion to traditional gender roles and expectations. They no longer have to bear total responsibility for their financial support. If and when they have children, they will be able to blend their own needs and careers with that of their families (Lortie,1976).

However, while these factors are relevant, they offer only a partial explanation. The data documenting the desire to give of oneself, to become involved with the next generation, to substitute personal fulfillment for status or financial gain is extensive. It surfaces in every interview, every questionnaire response, every discussion. Its all-pervasiveness supports the interpretation that, for these younger career changers, the Eriksonian

concerns of intimacy have contributed to their decisions to become teachers. In a similar vein their more senior colleagues have made their decisions to become teachers influenced by concerns of generativity. Sandra in her mid-thirties, Bob at forty, and every other career change teacher whom we interviewed wants to become part of a profession through which they will be able "to make a difference." Second career teachers share Noddings (1988) view of teaching as caring. They have defined their values and see teaching as a career in which they will be able to actualize their "personal reality" (Greene,1978).

The literature on career change gives further evidence that women who become second career teachers are not just accepting the yoke of "traditional women's work" (Apple,1986); men are not merely looking for security (Lortie,1975). Today, women, like their male counterparts, have been socialized to view work as a means of defining their identity. Traditional gender roles, alone, are not enough to make most women feel fulfilled. They seek to wed these roles to career aspirations. What differentiates second career teachers from many of their more traditional career-entry colleagues is the degree of commitment they bring and the extent to which they view themselves as professionals.

The linking of caring and professionalism is not new. It is only in the last two decades that the focus on profit eliminated the existence of social goals in the corporate world. Many men and women began their business careers unaware that they were making a choice that would prove to be unfulfilling. They found that competition and lack of community combined with limited autonomy and limited opportunity for feelings of self-fulfillment were realities for those who intended to climb the corporate ladder. It was not what they had envisioned. When the economic realities of the last few

years made the business world even more competitive and the needs of society more apparent, the time was right for a career change. For many of these men and women, teaching became the career of choice.

The Evolving Perceptions of Good Teaching

The data indicates that most second career teachers move through Fuller's stages of concerns (1969) more quickly than do most traditional entry teachers. Like their traditional colleagues, at the beginning, their primary concern was survival. They were consumed by the complexities of classroom management, day to day lesson planning, and the ability to field students' questions. These concerns surfaced again as they became supervised substitute teachers, and yet again as they became novice teachers. What appears to distinguish most of the second career teachers we studied is that within a matter of months, they were able to resolve these feelings of helplessness, continue their pursuit of needed skills, and expand their focus to include more complex concerns. They came to realize that teaching is a career that requires constant personal and professional growth (Yonemura,1986). What is significant is not that second career teachers develop a vision of good teaching that differs from that of traditional- entry teachers, but that this vision develops in so short a period of time.

The rapidness with which they are able to pass through stages of concerns may, in part, be explained by personal biography (Bullough,1990). It is possible that second career teachers enter teaching with a schema that enables them more readily to construct knowledge about the world of the classroom. As we said before, most second career teachers come from families where teachers and teaching are valued; many have close family members and/or friends who teach. The concerns of the classroom are not

new to them. They have thought and read about teachers and teaching, listened to discussions by and about teachers, or had personal experiences in which they assumed the role of the teacher. Many traditional-entry teachers have had similar experiences, but it is likely that they have spent less time reflecting on and making sense of these experiences. This process of reflection has enabled second career teachers to develop a more sophisticated schema, a higher level of "teaching readiness" (Dewey,1904, Schon,1983,87; Fuller,1969).

The data suggests that career biography has also contributed to the schema of second career teachers. Although it became evident that there was not a direct application of many management and organizational behaviors from initial careers to teaching, early career experiences provided a model from which to grow. The second career teachers we studied were novices in the world of education but experienced in the world of career expectations. Like Roger (p.13) , they came to teaching with a clear understanding of what it meant to be a professional.

We know from the literature on teacher socialization (Zeichner & Tabachnik,1981; Goodman,1985) that many traditional-entry teachers abandon their idealism upon encountering the political and social realities of schools. We feared that this would be equally true of second career teachers. Second career teachers came to teaching believing they had left bureaucracy and politics behind them. We had feared that when they recognized the socio-political nature of the schoolworld, they would abandon their transformative vision of teaching, adapt to the political expectations of the school, or, in frustration, leave teaching. We found that they were disappointed when they recognized the nature of their new career world. However, they neither abandoned their sense of purpose nor retreated to the isolation of their

classroom to make a difference (Liston and Zeichner, 1990). Like Bob (p.15) they reassessed their plans, revised their short-term goals, and designed a more realistic vision of how they might fulfill their mission to effect social change. Their previous career experiences enabled them to recognize that the world of teachers and teaching is politically contexted, accept the implications of this realization, and proceed with a more realistic vision.

The literature on cognitive and psycho-social development affords a third perspective for making sense of the more rapid development of second career teachers. Most theories of developmental stages see learning as hierarchical and epigenetic. Each stage grows out of and is more complex than its predecessor. As the individual moves through these stages, he or she functions at ever-increasing levels of complexity. The second career teacher, older and more experienced than the traditional-entry teacher, is likely to have attained higher levels of cognitive and affective sophistication. This would enable him or her to move more rapidly through the stages of teacher concerns.

Finally, from yet another perspective, it is possible that the accelerated pace at which we have watched second career teachers progress can be viewed in Vygotskyan terms. The teacher education program in which these second career students participated was structured with their needs in mind. Emphasis was placed on reflection, observation, collaboration, and collegiality. These terms, although perceived by many as buzz words in today's educational jargon, took on a special meaning in this context. These second career teachers were asked consistently to reflect on their experiences as students, professionals, and, when appropriate, as parents. Becoming increasingly conscious of these experiences, they were asked to forge links between their reflections and what they observed in classrooms they visited

and classrooms in which they worked. They shared with the group their reflections and observations in the attempt to reinterpret their experiences, make sense of classroom practice, and illuminate the literature they were reading. In so doing, they collaborated in developing a collective consciousness. This served as a support system and a resource; peers taught and nurtured peers on an ongoing basis. By developing these structures, the program of teacher education addressed second career teachers' *zone of proximal development*. Vygotsky refers to this zone in children as "the distance between actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky in Cole, Steiner,et. al. (ed.) p.86). In this adult context, we would substitute the words "faculty guidance" for "adult guidance." The teacher education program working in collaboration with the second career teachers themselves facilitated the accelerated broadening of concerns.

This interpretation raises the question of whether it is the nature of the program of teacher education or the nature of the students that has resulted in these outcomes. We believe that it is both. Second career teachers bring a developmental readiness- more sophisticated cognitive schema, a professional persona, a willingness to reflect evolving from the deliberation and, for many, the angst that accompanied the decision to choose teaching as a career. The nature of the program facilitated the channeling of this readiness into professional development. The success of these teachers emerged from who they were and how they were taught. The data supports this interpretation.

Implications for Teacher Education Programs

Implications for the conduct of programs of teacher education emerge from the data collected in this study. In some cases these implications are specific to programs designed for second career teachers; in others, they may apply to teacher education programs in general.

1. The professional experiences of those who enter teaching from other careers appears to facilitate their understanding of the professional role of the teacher and enables them to develop complex understandings of the nature of children and classrooms within a comparatively short period of time. In order to enable second career teachers to maximize their potential, teacher education programs need to develop differentiated curriculum that specifically addresses the needs and concerns of this population.

2. Second career teachers realize that they bring valuable knowledge and skills with them from their previous careers. They do not, however, intuitively understand how to translate these into effective classroom practice. All too often, teacher education programs, like second career teachers themselves, assume the transfer of knowledge and skills from career to career will be automatic. On the contrary, the data suggests that second career teachers need to be taught a repertoire of pedagogical strategies enabling them to adapt prior knowledge and experience to the world of the classroom.

3. Like traditional entry teachers, second career teachers come with a sense of caring for children. Their age, experience, or even their role as parents, does not enable them to see at time of entry that caring is not enough. If second career teachers are to gain an understanding of how the

developmental needs and concerns of children impact on classroom practice, teacher education programs must include issues of child and adolescent development within the curriculum and directly link these issues to practice.

4. Second career teachers enter teaching with an awareness that social issues are directly related to education. They are unaware of how complex these relationships are. They are even more unaware of education as a politically-contexted world. If second career teachers are to negotiate the path between idealism and the political and social cultures of schools, teacher education programs need to address these issues, identify the ways in which they impact upon teachers and teaching, and enable second career teachers to develop strategies that prepare them for this reality.

5. The second career people we studied carefully researched and reflected on their decisions to choose careers in teaching. Nonetheless, they found many surprises in their newly chosen field. They were not prepared for how complex and how challenging the world of the teacher would be. At times they felt overwhelmed, confused and frustrated by the difference between the feelings and experiences they had anticipated and those they actually experienced. Since feelings like these either can be blocks to professional development or catalysts for personal and professional growth, teacher education programs need to acknowledge and address them in a systematic fashion. The data indicates that second career teachers need a support system offering guidance, counseling, and structured opportunities for peer sharing both at the time of career transition and throughout the duration of the pre-service program.

6. Second career teachers see themselves as reflective. They have given careful thought to what they think constitutes good teaching and why they should be teachers. Many, however, do not know how to connect their personal

reflections to classroom realities. They do not not know how to probe and to question the policies and procedures that are commonly accepted as good practice. Teacher education programs need to help these men and women to extend the process of personal reflection into Schon's (1983) more complex process of reflection-in-action.

Conclusion

The self-portraits and perceptions of teaching with which second career teachers enter teaching change as they encounter the realities of classroom life. Those teachers studied in this research appear to have redefined their original perceptions as they developed a more sophisticated schema of teachers and teaching. Throughout the process, they have maintained the transformative vision of education and the sense of mission that motivated their career change. The data indicates that personal biography, cognitive and psycho-social development, and a program of teacher education differentiated to meet the needs and concerns of second career teachers have facilitated this process of personal and professional growth.

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